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The Commonweal

October 14, 1949

Tourist and Pilgrim

H. A. Reinhold

Non-Communist Left

James Loeb, Jr.

Notre Dame: Football Capital or University?

Waldemar Gurian

VOLUME LI 15c NUMBER 1

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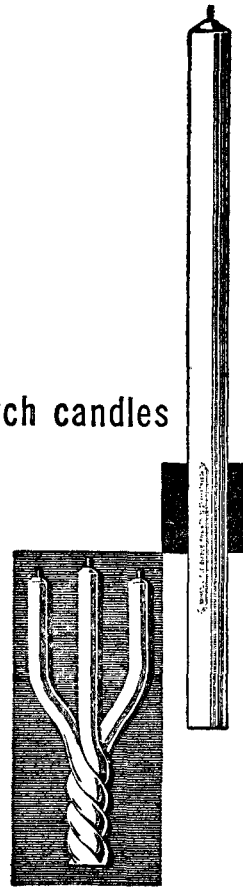

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The
COMMONWEAL

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Harvest Time in China

THE CHINESE satellite regime is set up now at Peking, and is warmly welcomed by the home communists in Moscow. *Izvestia* writes lyrically: "Now in the East there is not a single country where the banner of struggle will not gleam red, where toilers will not be inspired by the example of the peoples of the Soviet Union. . . ."

The inescapable fact is that the Peking army and government are orthodox communist, satellite to Russia, operated by the CP to impose the full totalitarian Soviet life on the Chinese and to spread that life and regime in all oriental countries and over the whole world. That fact can be denied or hidden only by dishonest people attempting to fool their neighbors, or by people who abnormally refuse to face evidence. All arguments about China policy which involve the happy myth of agrarian reformers freely establishing an independent democratic counter-regime to the nefarious Kuomintang must be thrown out of honest society with the rudeness reserved for the big lie.

The non-communist part of the world is up against a terrible situation, and the US Government is in the worst spot of all. The present situation proves our failure absolutely.

An effort to correct the devastating and still further threatening condition requires an examination of its origin. The State Department White Paper purported to be that examination, and on the basis of that White Paper an effort is being made to develop a China policy for the future. But the White Paper is itself a flagrant failure, and a policy worked out by the same type of person and method will unquestionably further aid communism and injure freedom. The people and institutions who do support and have formed and supported the American China program do not warrant confidence. We don't know who they all are who have dominated Washington's Chinese thinking, but so frequently mentioned in this connection that they would have to be specially whitewashed are eminent men and organizations like Philip Jessup, John Carter Vincent, Henry Wallace, Lauchlin Currie, Owen Lattimore; the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Foreign Policy Association. They all appear at best as feeble, irresolute and unsuccessful advisers on a policy to protect ourselves and the world from the encroaching Soviet tyranny.

THE FOREIGN Policy Association has just published a bulletin written by a Mary C. Wright, insouciantly advocating a further policy of appeasement to Communist China. The arguments are well rehearsed: they accompanied the beneficent forward steps of Hitler and then Stalin. These bits (selected to emphasize the point) are written openly in black and white: "It is by no means a foregone conclusion that Communist China will be a satellite of the USSR. One cannot foresee the shape of the emerging China. . . . and the great majority of Chinese of all classes are rallying to the new order with genuine enthusiasm. . . . We have little chance of playing an effective role in that area [Southeast Asia and India] if we start from a position of intransigeant opposition to Chinese Communism. . . ." A genuinely fabulous tract!

If we welcome such an approach to oriental policy there is really no problem. Then the White Paper is not a propagandistic apologia, but a record of triumph. We need no new lessons in ineffectual capitulation.

Fortunately, the State Department has also a strong tradition of non-recognition. Fortunately also, Admiral Denfeld, when called upon to break the (non-recognized) blockade of the recognized Chinese Government, reported that "employment of US naval force is not in accord with US Government policy." That policy is evidently waiting—and let us pray for new and better and quick advice.

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Coal and Steel

THERE is a myriad of ways in which the coal stoppage and the steel strike are interwoven. John L. Lewis, however, rarely gives a thought to the effect of his tactics on workers in other industries; given his long-standing feud with Philip Murray, it is hardly surprising that he launched his "no-work week" in the nation's coal mines regardless of its effect on the negotiations involving the United Steel Workers.

Mr. Murray has been operating from a most difficult position. The rejection of the union's higher wage demands by the President's fact-finders put many of the heads of the USW locals in a fractious mood. Once Mr. Murray had finally persuaded them to accept the panel's recommendations, his prestige demanded that he obtain for the workers nothing less. And then his strike weapon was blunted by the Lewis coal walkout—for lack of fuel, the steel mills would have to close down anyway. That naturally has made the companies all the more unyielding.

At the same time, the United Mine Workers stopped paying pensions and benefits for lack of funds, presaging higher royalties on every ton of coal mined. (The present rate of 20 cents a ton has proved inadequate; it is estimated that under the current, hidden mode of operation, 30 cents a ton would be required to meet miners' pension costs alone, not to mention sickness, death, disability and hospitalization benefits.)

This defection confirmed management in the idea that the 10 cents an hour which the companies are now being asked to contribute for steelworkers' pensions and insurance would eventually prove insufficient. The companies have, therefore, stuck to the line that the workers themselves should contribute proportionately, as they do in the check-off for federal social security. Only by a joint contribution system does management believe that future demands for company pension and welfare contributions can be held in bounds.

Finally, there has been the reverse action of the steel strike upon the United Mine Workers. Public utilities have some 130-day supply of soft coal on hand and steel plants, when they shut down, had enough for 50 days, despite the low-wage, three-day week Mr. Lewis imposed to cut down coal piles. His strike weapon, therefore, also is greatly blunted. Moreover, the possibility that a Presidential coal board will be empowered to look into the workings of the UMW pension fund—and might well hold, besides, that adequate benefits could be provided for less than the present 20-cents a ton royalty rate—is said to be pushing Mr. Lewis into seeking a speedy settlement with the mine owners. Each industrial shutdown directly weakens the effectiveness of the other as a bargaining weapon.

On the main issue which has split the steel companies and the union, it would seem that the former are manifesting a remarkable new interest in the self-reliance of the worker which can hardly deceive anyone. The union for its part seems so intent in its rejection of worker contributions to welfare funds (with the diminution of take-home pay entailed by a contribution of 4 to 5 cents an hour) that it fails to see the importance of building up enough of a fund to meet expected contingencies.

In the long run workers should be glad to contribute to soundly-based welfare plans, on the voluntary basis required, and to take an active part in all aspects of their welfare fund's administration. That is an element worth emphasizing in the immediate impasse. The doleful effects on the national economy everyone is predicting from a protracted strike should not hide the importance of the post-war pattern which is being so arduously arrived at.

Higher Education and Solvency

A SURVEY by the New York *Times* produces information that American colleges and universities are suffering serious financial difficulties: 20% are operating at a deficit, 15% face retrenchment in faculty or facilities. All but a tiny minority feel a raise in already unfortunately high tuitions is impossible. Students are paying for their education half again what they did in 1941-'42. Private and denominational colleges are finding things rougher yet. Tuitions there are 52% higher. Negro colleges, hardly prosperous before the war, now must charge twice their former tuition.

Private colleges are currently conducting campaigns for a total of 518 million dollars, and 98% are finding it harder to raise money than in recent years. While very few expect to be forced to close, and a large majority say they do not need federal aid to continue, almost half of the American colleges and universities are in favor of federal assistance. The great majority think this should be in national scholarships and contracts for research.

Private institutions are the most in need of assistance (14.9% of them face a recession), and the most strongly opposed to federal aid (by a total of 60.4%).

Catholics who realize the incalculable importance of intellectual centers which are fundamentally and radically Christian, must honestly deal with the fact that it costs more to educate an individual student than (without eliminating all but the wealthiest minority) he can be asked to pay. Alumni, as a group, notoriously fail to repay their universities' gift. If they do not respect their university deeply enough to make financial sacrifices, a just appeal can hardly be made to outsiders.

An effective alternative to asking the govern-

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ment to subsidize higher education might be found in bringing into the university a sufficient number of profitable subsidiary functions to counterbalance the losses of the university itself. Some have tried this with research laboratories, radio stations or athletics. The results do not seem especially satisfactory and the principle is most dangerous to the university's integrity.

If the college were actually to become a community of masters and students, not only learning together (and Dr. Nutting's recent articles in this magazine considered this matter from the intellectual viewpoint), but living and operating their college cooperatively, it is possible that they could make a solvent go of it.

A more profound diagnosis of the entire problem must consider the fact that colleges are not an organic *part* of the American society. They are thought of as luxuries that must be granted certain indulgences. They might have less financial difficulty if they were to do more to make themselves integral parts of their communities. (And only they can initiate this change in thinking, and this change in acting.) The university can surely make itself felt in its society without a compromise to utilitarianism.

The problem of finances, however, finally reduces itself to that old solution: dependence upon the individual. If it is a grim prospect for harried American purses, it is also a momentous responsibility.

Point Four

THE phrase "underdeveloped and backward areas," as it is used in Point Four language, makes one think of a slum, of comparatively small, dirty sections in the hinterlands of the world. If so, then there are plenty of slums, since two-thirds of the world's population lives today in economically underdeveloped areas.

To render assistance, technical and monetary, to these peoples, James Webb of the State Department presented to Congress a plan calling for contributions from the United States, the United Nations and the recipient countries. The money expenditure runs to 85 millions, the largest amount of which is to be spent for agriculture, health and education. The reasons for spending the money on these things are best appreciated in terms of a few agriculture, health and education statistics for underdeveloped areas: food supply is below the minimum necessary for health, life expectancy is 30 years, and three-fourths of the people over 10 are illiterate.

After some slow and undramatic spade-work is done on living standards, the United States hopes to encourage markets for our exports and outlets for the investment of private capital. Since it is anticipated that the European Recovery Program will make Europe increasingly self-sufficient after 1952, the trade possibilities of Point Four, as substitutes for our present markets, are attractive to American business and to the Chamber of Commerce.

It would seem that, added together, all these Point Four prospects are good, in both human and economic ways. Yet there is only a dim enthusiasm for the program, and out-and-out opponents attack it for being either selfish or soft-hearted—selfish, because some of them consider it economic imperialism in new language, or soft-hearted, because, as Representative Joseph Martin thinks, it is time for the US to stop gift-spending and to stack atomic bombs instead.

As it is now, the Point Four program is an unsensational and small effort which can become whatever we want to make it. Selfish economic exploitation on our part, with attendant military intervention to protect investments, is not our policy now and could not win popular approval in a non-colonial world.

Point Four is a program of construction; it may well work for the mutual benefit of all peoples by bringing living conditions around the world to a better standard. It need not be thought of as a messianic mission to export a high spiritual culture. But were we, in the atomic rush, to overlook the greater, the more constructive good we may now accomplish with our industrial superiority, we should be missing what may well be the decisive contribution that our American industrial system can make toward establishing a world in which men can learn to do together other things than die together.

The Mask of Patriotism

WITH DP camps refusing admittance to any more displaced persons at the end of this year and the International Refugee Organization itself disbanding six months later, the urgency grows for Senate action on the House legislation doubling the number of refugees to be admitted to this country. At Senate hearings on the bill, two representatives of "patriotic" veterans' organizations expressed their opposition in terms which are painfully revealing. As reported, John T. Taylor, representing the American Legion, declared that "do-gooders [who favor the new bill] . . . lose sight of the best interests of the nation as a whole—the law can't be circumvented each time an emergency situation with heart appeal arises." In the course of his remarks John C. Williamson of the Veterans of Foreign Wars said that the DP's should stay in Europe, where happiness depended on "the combined collective willingness of all peoples to work hard and bring their standards of living nearer to the American level." And nearer to the American level of charity?

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Tourist and Pilgrim

St. Louis bound, a traveler looks over the American "physical and spiritual scenery"

H. A. Reinhold

THERE ARE RIVERS that have always fascinated me, like the Nile, the Danube, the Rhine and the Tiber. Some of them, like the Ganges, the Volga and the Amazon I have never laid eyes on. Somehow or other, I am deeply moved whenever I catch a glimpse of the Missouri, be it up in the wide valleys of Montana, or in the Dakotas or Iowa, when it suddenly appears without warning after a day's drive.

But none of them has the greatness of the Columbia, coming out of the most grandiose section of the Rockies, out of loneliness and purity, so to speak. It is dramatic and full of contrast and most of the time lonely, all by itself, just like its tributaries, the Kootenay and the Snake. It flows through hundreds of miles of silent nordic pine forest, around whole mountain ranges full of glaciers, through lakes as blue and pretty as anything in Northern Italy, through brown, wildly fantastic canyons in the hot desert of central Washington into a gorge that vies with the Hudson, Rhine and Danube for its green beauty.

I deliberately want to see, to "place" an event like the liturgical week, held in St. Louis August 21-26, against the backdrop of the American scenery and the travelers who enjoy it. Even if, on my way to St. Louis, I shall overhear a spinster saying, at Lake Louise: "What a darling glacier," it will not jar me, because it is the same miscarriage of emotion and vocabulary we find in modern devotional language, and as long as this happens people will find plaster Madonnas "darling" and the common run of Sacred Heart statues the reply to their quest of the Infinite God.

It happened that there was one horrible Saturday night which we spent in a hot and sultry city on the plains. What with gallons of iced coffee and sherbet and a big supper, I was as sick as a dog all night and had to go to Mass like any lay person the next morning to fulfil my duty as a Catholic. It was a blessing in disguise, because after so many years at the altar "upfront," it gave me a chance to experience what the average layman experiences every Sunday. This was at a cathedral downtown in a sizable city.

In this commonplace city, with its tall buildings beside parking lots, and colonial mansions on spacious lawns, there was a dim cathedral, with the ushers at the door beside their piles of coins, a few enormous fans trying in vain to move the sultry air around and a large sweltering crowd of fresh shirts and print dresses in the pews. There was a rapid-fire Mass up front, interrupted by long unintelligible announcements, mostly of Masses, followed apparently by the rapid reading of supposedly hallowed texts and, to judge from the fact that the priest carried on in the pulpit after he laid down his book, also a sermon. From the end of the sermon to the ringing of the Communion bell one of the eight confessionals was open with a large crowd patiently waiting to be shriven; as it turned out, more than half of them out of luck, as the young cleric walked off to help with Communion without even giving the dirty lambs a second look. So they sadly returned to their pews or walked out.

*

MY THOUGHTS were rather anti-clerical and I suddenly felt a terrible let-down. Was this the source of redemption, the mystery of the New Covenant, the family banquet of the redeemed, or was it on the order of secularism, of souls languishing in the desert, of pharisees in temples? If you are a Puritan, or a Quaker, and have your religion all inside or in a book—who cares what happens in services? Or if you believe in "being saved," any bumptious revival meeting with rollicking hymns or sawdust and benches will do. But if you belong to a Church that believes in sacraments, in liturgy, in visible representation and hierarchy, in majestic and pseudo-majestic buildings, in habits and cassocks as the fringe of the real mystery, how on earth can you carry on like this? Apart from leaving money behind and a feeling of having done what is demanded of them, what have these people done that they could not just as well do in a forest, on a seashore, in their living room or a meeting hall? They prayed, though it did not look like it; they dimly knew that this rapid performance at the altar was identical with the center of history, somehow or other; but it was about the same thing as if Christ, instead of being born from a lovely virgin, with angels singing, instead of taking the trouble of living thirty-

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odd years, quietly first and later at the center of an upheaval, instead of coming to a most dramatic conflict with two powers and two nations, instead of being executed and of confounding all Jerusalem by wind and fire on Whitsunday—I say, it is as if Christ, instead of doing all that, had taken one walk through Jerusalem ringing a bell or blowing a horn, carrying a sandwich sign that said: "Everything is all right, you are redeemed now, for further information look at the Book." What a waste of time, effort, display, tears, and blood was His life, when compared with the efficient half hour dehydration in that so-called cathedral one sultry Sunday morning! Of course, these were my lay thoughts just for one morning. I would not dare think them now, especially as I saw that there are still other places where things go differently, like Santa Rosa in New Mexico. Did you ever hear of the Cassidy brothers?

Well, they are both priests; one has seventeen missions up in the hills near Las Vegas—not the gay, gambling one, but the quiet one in New Mexico. His brother is the pastor at Santa Rosa and we were his guests at the local fiesta on the feast of Santa Rosa. The whole town, it seemed, was in church on this weekday twice: once for Communion Mass, and again for High Mass. Some people drove over a hundred miles to be there. Half the female population was in the vestry kitchen to cook the meals. During the banquet, seminarians and parishioners sang and played for the guests and the little boys, with their big Spanish-American eyes, stood along the walls to watch the guest. The friendly dignity of these people was very noticeable; nobody slapped me on the back with a wink towards the drinks. Now, I remember, there weren't any!

And what priests there are down there, where the Catholics in their small hill towns are poor, speak with a Spanish accent and have in their priest a shepherd, their spiritual father and minister of the mysteries. All of which seems to prove that small towns of a homogeneous population, a coherent minority of people who do not yield to nomadic urges but stay where their fathers had been, can burst through the crust of dead custom and traditions if one condition is given: a spiritual leader with vision and the genius of improvising. A mentally alert city population, which responds quickly to all challenges in every field, will, on the contrary, live on an anemic drivel and drive in a rut when the leader is but a boss and administrator or an executive who buttons his collar in the back.

How varied and rich the American scene is becomes increasingly vivid to me by the year. It would be more comfortable to ride to places like the Grand Canyon in a streamliner and to use the time thus gained to go fishing or sight-seeing. But this incredible spectacle becomes a climax, when you have driven for days on end through sun and weird deserts, pueblos and railroad towns; it is fulfilment and sweet as harmony after dissonance, or a release like the chorus at the end of the ninth symphony. It is like the labor of liturgy, the cooperation, the singing, the acting that goes into it as opposed to the sitting down to take in the finished product—often synthetic at that, which we see in so many modern substitutes and derivations in our churches. The real thing, of course, would be to walk in your own neighborhood and to discover fulfilments nearby. But then, I am rationalizing and trying to show how the liturgical week at St. Louis was not only an ideal for one pastor to try to realize in his small parish out West with its many handicaps, but like the resounding finale to a great American symphony of physical and spiritual scenery.

★

ON THE approaches to St. Louis lay two more way stations: Grailville, Ohio, and Gethsemani, Kentucky. It is hard to do Grailville justice, as is shown by Evelyn Waugh's short reference to it, in which he seems more struck by its unfortunate name of Gaelic lore and romance and its "austerities" than by its singularly successful synthesis of liturgy and life, leisure and hard work, play and austerity. More striking to me as a pastor is the explicit incorporation of these women into the parish. While the ordinary new community in our days seems to have as a first prerequisite the urge to withdraw into a convent and, above all, into a convent chapel with its own exercises, here are women, mostly unmarried, of all ages, who definitely refuse to do this and who make it a point to be parishioners of their kind old pastor, singing his High Mass with him almost daily, tending his sacristy, visiting his poor, instructing his children and forming a nucleus of the parish that reminds me of the state of widows, virgins and deaconesses of the ancient church.

These women are living Catholic Action, before the talking and theorizing about it by so many others has worked it to death. That they use no lipstick, weave their own clothes, eat unadulterated and wholesome food, tend a farm, sing and folk-dance is only one aspect, perhaps one of enthusiasm, or one that goes with apostolic protest against secularism. But their courageous acceptance of their status as parishioners, which has lifted the whole parish to a superior level, is certainly more significant than the lack of care for their complexions. If I had any say about it, priests, nuns, young men and above all our girls and women should all spend a day there to receive an intuitive vision of the directness of

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this experiment in Christian living. The name and the high-keyed tenseness about a few minor aspects are pale shadows compared with the blaze of Spirit visible here on the American scene.

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SOMEONE in Chicago had warned me that Thomas Merton's Superior had worked him so hard that he was dying of tuberculosis. Instead I saw at Gethsemani a healthy, lively, and happy young monk bursting with spiritual and intellectual energy, at ease and relaxed, in a monastic way, of course. One naturally approaches a Trappist monastery, even as a priest, with certain reservations, especially when one expects the bourgeois confusion of poverty with shabbiness, mortification of the senses with a cult of sham devotional beauty. But meeting a firebrand controlled by contemplation, charity and monastic discipline like Thomas Merton dispels one's fears that great godly energies are frittered away in external austerities, homely devotionettes and secondhand spirituality. While I have always had respect for Saint Bernard—required by the fact that he is a canonized saint of the Church — COMMONWEAL readers know that I feel that the "new devotion" he inaugurated has impressed me as the source of much of the emotionalism and human-centeredness that now stands in the way of a deeper appreciation of the sacramental aspect of Catholic life by so many of the pious. This does not detract either from his genius, or from his holiness or from his significance as the originator of an indispensable and valuable era of Christian spirituality. To make a comparison: who would blame Michelangelo for introducing heroic emotion into mural painting, because with it he opened the gates to a flood of sentimental emotionalism? Is he therefore less great or less a genius? Or would we condemn the genius of Beethoven because the romantic composers and the ensuing chaos can be traced back, at least partly, to his bold innovations? I am using these comparisons less for their aptness than for their handiness.

If I understand the monastic spring of the American white monks of Saint Benedict right, then they are part of the sacramental renascence of the American Church. That a tortured poet who could be heard distinctly in the chorus of Eliot, Auden, Lowell and others, that ex-soldiers, paratroopers, laborers, farmers and businessmen should flee to undisturbed contemplation; that the industrial desert of the twentieth century should all at once sprout oases all over the land in Georgia, Carolina, Utah, New Mexico and New York; that the secularists should take notice of their books, good, bad and indifferent, and that the ancient Hellenic cry for "Theoria," contemplation, should be heard: all this is great, much greater than Evelyn Waugh's article in *Life* suggests. What is still more significant to me personally is that we are seeing an inner coherence with the awakening of the laity (as a sacred state and calling in the organism of Christ's body), the awakening of Catholic consciences, the deep longing for re-union with our separated brethren and finally, the new vision of the Church as Christ on earth. The Cistercian monastic spring is no return, definitely not to de Rancé and not to Saint Bernard either: it is a twentieth century American departure. It has nothing of the tender effusiveness of Bernard's age, but is chastely reticent and reason is never submerged in emotion. The pure expression of sacramental Christianity, communal mirroring of divinity in signs and symbols, is on its way, protected against spiritual collectivism and rigid ritualism by seven hundred years tradition of individualism, Cistercian, Franciscan and Ignatian.

*

THE FIVE thousand men, women and children, lay, clerical and religious, that sang the Ordinary of Archbishop Ritter's Mass in St. Louis' cathedral during the liturgical week proved a few things: it proved that people can sing together, can do it well, and that they want to do it once they have tried it. It is hard to believe that any movement can show so much progress in only ten years, as the liturgical movement has shown. I say this with full knowledge that 95 percent of our parishes and about 80 percent of our convents have not been affected by it at all. Only a few dioceses have carried out the Pope's order by instituting a liturgical commission, not as shackles and brakes, but as a motor. The liturgical movement has had a bad press; just look at the headlines most diocesan papers gave the encyclical, by playing up warnings against excesses, and ignoring almost completely the positive directives. Sure, missals have good sales and on the whole one may hope that they are being used at least in those places where the faithful are able to keep up with the speed of the celebrant without lapsing into mere formality. But is that liturgy? I don't think so.

St. Louis showed what liturgy is: hearing the word of God, singing His praise, entering into divine life through Christ's mysteries and then living as one incorporated in Christ, doing all this as His redeemed people, like members of the same body. On this occasion, for the first time, all sang in their mother tongue the Church's hours of the day, psalms, hymns and prayer—in itself enough to make such a liturgical week worthwhile. This first attempt, while not a thorough success as far as the translations go, was a splendid success as far as participation goes. If translated texts are used, priest and laymen

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can sing the praise of God. That is a great thing in view of the fact that no subsidiary motive entered this pure song of praise. God was the center—none of His creatures, no derivative device was used, no promises made, no bait was offered. Tom, Dick and Betty sang what a few hundred miles away the white monks sang: the glory of God streaming forth in an act of love.

There was the Archbishop: friendly, encouraging and guiding, mingling with the audience as a great example. There was the priest whose living parish has become a beacon all over America: Monsignor Hellriegel, making the Mass come to life in hours of demonstration with the audience spellbound. There was the English Jesuit, Father Clifford Howell, clear, fiery, witty and electrifying, teaching us to sing hymns carefully selected and sifted from the all too popular pious trash—in no time at all. Seminarians studying ways and means to help fellow seminarians; fathers and mothers trying to find ways to restore the Lord's Day; Sisters discussing ways and means to attune their life and work more organically to the liturgical rhythm of the Church: all this blends into a very lively picture of the growing power of the Church as a sacramental organism. One may regret that our laity is not more articulate on such occasions and that we clergy usually take over when it comes to discussion, but at least a few men were heard who showed how deeply the laity is concerned and how willing men and women are to restore their lives to the sacramental pattern.

Readjustment of our attitudes and practices to the ideal vision of Christian values will take patience and hard work. Ideas which, though old, sound novel have a hard time being accepted. The very importance of the liturgy as a pure worship of the Father in Spirit and Truth is very, very far from being recognized even by leaders, notwithstanding the earnest exhortations of Pope Pius XII in *Mediator Dei*.

But events like the liturgical weeks in Chicago, 1940, Portland, 1947, and above all St. Louis, 1949, cannot but arouse the consciences of those concerned and give a new vision of greater love for the supremely actualized Mystical Body of Christ.

The Non-Communist Left

Just back from abroad, an Americans for Democratic Action official gives his report and analysis

James Loeb, Jr.

AMERICAN liberalism is non-doctrinaire and non-sectarian. While there have always been relatively minute and isolated sects of radicals offering their panaceas to a disinterested public, the great social gains in this country have been accomplished within the framework of an American progressive tradition which has had many platforms but few dogmas.

Indeed, many of our best liberal thinkers complain, with some justification, that the genuine democratic progressives in America have not sufficiently thought through the organic structure of the society towards which they seem to be moving. Our liberal objectives are immediate and pragmatic in character: minimum wages, social security, FEPC, public housing, labor legislation, etc. Our great liberal leaders, from Jackson through Lincoln to FDR, have been doers, not theorists. Without a systematic body of dogma, we have nevertheless maintained a sense of direction. We even pride ourselves on the practical character of our political action.

It was as a representative of this kind of American liberalism, organized in Americans for Democratic Action, that I spent nine intensive weeks this summer talking to leaders of the democratic Left in most of the countries of Europe west of the Iron Curtain.

My conclusions can be simply stated:

1) Because of many obvious factors of geography, history, economics and tradition, there are in Europe no political groups which could be considered precise counterparts of the pragmatic liberalism of which we boast in America.

2) Europe's democratic Left, which is the great hope both for long-range economic stability and for effective resistance to Communism, is composed of the Catholic Left and the Socialists or Social Democrats. While there are undoubtedly isolated individuals and small groups that cannot be so easily categorized, these two forces constitute the present and potential strength of the non-communist Left.

3) To the extent that these two groups are divided, European governments tend to be either outright conservative or, at best, so completely without constructive plans or policy that long-range reconstruction is effectively stymied.

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4) To the extent that the Left Catholics and the Socialists remain divided, either Communism or some form of neo-Fascism will succeed in uniting them in concentration camps.

These generalizations require some explanation in terms of specific countries. In Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries there is no strong Catholic Left, and the democratic Left, whether we like it or not, is a mild form of western Socialism. In the Netherlands the coalition government has worked effectively. There have been differences on the central issue of Indonesia, with the Catholic Party somewhat to the right on this issue (although I was told that the Catholic missionaries supported the Indonesian Nationalists). However, probably because of a strong Catholic trade union movement, there have been no insurmountable cleavages on economic problems. In Belgium there is a temporary cleavage due to the question of Leopold and the present coalition excludes the Socialists, but this situation does not seem in any way permanent. In Austria the continuation of the coalition seems certain whatever the results of the October elections, since the peculiar circumstance of a country of seven million with a capital city of two million makes one-party government difficult. The religious tensions between the Socialists and the People's Party are sharp, but it is unlikely that either side will prove strong enough to rule without the other.

The three largest countries on the continent, France, Italy and Germany, have the most conservative governments, excluding the Iberian Peninsula. Unless definite steps are taken in the direction of close cooperation between the Catholic Left and the Socialists in these countries (excluding of course the pro-Communist Nenni Socialists in Italy), a deepening conservatism of the whole continent seems assured. In France and Italy this will undoubtedly mean the strengthening of the still powerful Communist parties with an inevitable polarization of political forces. In Western Germany the immediate danger is not Communism but a revived nationalism which will terrify all of Western Europe and which will some day be "bought off" by the Russians.

*

I CANNOT claim sufficient knowledge or wisdom to be able to assess the responsibilities for the divisions that now exist, or to suggest feasible answers. But I return from Europe with the conviction that American progressives, Catholics and non-Catholics, should discuss these problems openly and without bitterness in the hope that some answers can be found in time. If isolationism is really dead, if freedom and security are indivisible as most of us assume them to be, then we must concern ourselves with divisions abroad lest they adversely affect our own chances for democratic survival.

In approaching this whole problem I confess that, as a non-Catholic American liberal, it was far easier in a quick trip to meet the Socialist leaders than those of the Catholic Left, especially since the Socialists are organized in separate parties while the Catholic Leftists represent tendencies within parties that are politically heterogeneous. Nevertheless, although I talked with more Socialists than Catholics, I by no means concluded that the causes for the divisions are all on one side.

*

THE principal problem with the Socialists lies in the persistence of Marxist traditions. In this connection it is worth pointing out that European Socialism has been most successful where it has been least Marxist, in Britain and the Scandinavian countries. The fact that Marxism is only a tradition with the Continental social democratic movement, and in no sense a practical guide for action, seems insufficient to convince most Catholics that the anti-religious character of Marxism is completely a dead letter. The Socialists cling to their tradition no matter how anachronistic it has become. The portrait of Marx hanging over the French Socialist Convention seemed to have as much to do with current French problems as a picture of Confucius might have had. An Austrian Socialist recently wrote an article asking the question: "Are We Still Marxists?" As the title of the article suggests, he answered in the negative, and his effort to express what an increasing number of Socialists in Austria and elsewhere in Europe feel, elicited a storm of protest in his party.

Despite the tradition, Socialism in Europe has evolved into a very practical program based largely on issues which would be completely acceptable to most American liberals and to the Catholic Left of Europe. I do not believe that European Socialism represents a threat to organized religion. Indeed, I know of no example of a Socialist government having denied the freedom of religion.

On the contrary, the Socialist movement in Europe, except in a few cases such as Italy where it wavered on the Communist question, has been one of the strongest and most effective anti-Communist forces. The most dramatic victory against the Russians since liberation was the heroic refusal of over 2,000,000 Berliners to yield to the threat of strangulation, and that resistance was led by Mayor Ernst Reuter, Deputy Mayor Louisa Schroeder and their predominantly social democratic city government. And in Austria the Socialist Party, however strongly it may hold to a Marxist tradition, is violently anti-

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Communist. Perhaps the only generalization about Europe that will hold water is that wherever there is a strong Socialist movement there is no powerful, menacing Communist Party. And wherever the Socialists are weak and/or divided, as in Italy and France, the Communists are still an enormous threat.

*

IN the face of these circumstances it is only natural that a non-Catholic liberal should ask, perhaps out of sheer ignorance, why the Church should crusade so vigorously against the European Socialists. In Western Germany, where the Communists and the neo-Nazis were the twin enemies, the full weight of the Church was thrown against the Social Democrats. It should be added that the reactionary Free Democratic Party which has coalesced with the Christian Democrats is at least as anti-clerical as the German Socialists. I met many of the latter who quietly disagreed with Kurt Schumacher's campaign against what he called "the fifth occupying power," because they had the fullest confidence in such Catholic Leftists within the CDU as Arnold and Hilpert. Whoever started the battle in Germany, the result was a conservative German government dependent on the neo-nationalists for its majority.

The complaint of most European Socialists is not with the purpose and ideals and programs of the Catholic Leftists, but that these staunch progressives with whom they have so much in common are merely left-wings of parties which are under generally conservative control. I believe it accurate to state that the Christian or Catholic parties that emerged following liberation with liberal, not to say radical, programs, have all moved to the right. This is less true in France because the right wing of the MRP simply left the party to join forces with De Gaulle. But in Germany and Italy particularly, progressive Catholics are now isolated in parties which are becoming increasingly conservative. There is as much political difference between Conrad Adenauer and Karl Arnold in the German CDU as between Senator McCarran and Senator Myers in our own Democratic Party. But Adenauer is the party leader in Germany, while Senator Myers was the chairman of his party's last Platform Committee and is now its Senate Majority Whip.

The point is that if the left-wing Catholic forces did not bring votes to parties which are becoming increasingly conservative, the political picture in Europe today would be considerably brighter from the point of view of progressives. It is the great hope of most European Socialists that the liberal Catholics will some day break from their party moorings, but at the moment this seems like a forlorn hope. If the Catholic parties are growing conservative, as I have suggested, it is probably not because they are Catholic but rather because economically conservative elements have worked their way into controlling positions in the parties. This raises an important question: While anti-Catholic Leftists insist that the Church is using religion to further reactionary interests, is it not more probable that reactionary interests are using religion to capture votes which would otherwise be aligned with progressive forces?

*

THE one genuine sign of hope in terms of the unity of Catholic and non-Catholic progressives in Europe lies in the trade unions. In this field common interests are forcing common actions. In Austria and Germany all labor is united, and the only fear of labor disunity comes from the possible impact of political disunity on the trade union field. In France the militant Christian unions, the CFTC, and the Socialist-influenced Force Ouvrière, are friendly rivals in their efforts to recapture the French working-class from the Communist-controlled CGT. Many American observers hope that these two labor federations will eventually merge, and see in such a merger the best basis for a resurgence of a democratic left in France.

In Italy the strongest non-Communist labor force is the LCGIL which, although largely influenced by Christian Democrats, insists that it is non-sectarian. The newly-formed FIL, under Republican and Socialist leadership, will probably be merged with the LCGIL within a few months, and such a combination might have a real impact on the course of events in a country which needs a militant democratic Left almost more than any in Europe. It is axiomatic that there can be no progressive government in any country the majority of whose organized workers are under tight Communist control, and it is just such a situation which obtains in France and Italy today. This can only be changed by a concentration of trade union forces on a non-political and non-sectarian basis.

The one great programmatic issue which serves to divide Catholic and non-Catholic progressives in Europe is, of course, in the educational or cultural field. Since the Catholic Left in Europe is generally anti-Franco, there seems to be no great division even on this touchy point. It would be futile to deny the difficulties involved in working out a common educational program since on this matter we seem to be having troubles of our own. It is an issue which cuts deeply. But surely there are other issues of life-and-death significance to both the Catholic Left and the Socialists of

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Europe. If no compromise on education can be worked out, it would seem to be a matter of sheer survival for the progressives of Europe to agree to disagree.

As in all things, we in America are fortunate enough to have some margin in time. The example of Europe should convince us that we must never allow the religious issue to divide those of us who have a common faith in the democratic process and a conviction that a stable democracy depends upon the well-being of the men, women and children who constitute it. If we can find the courage to discuss our disagreements with mutual tolerance and in the light of our common objectives, perhaps we shall be able, by example, to render an invaluable assistance to our European friends. Since the modern world has made us so completely interdependent, we should be helping ourselves in doing so.

The Labor Movement

Another Split in U. S. Labor

IT SEEMS to be clear now that the Communists in the CIO have decided to pull out and form their own labor federation. And yet that is not stating it exactly.

As Francis Downing pointed out in these pages last summer, there has been evidence for some time that the Party brass were in favor of this action, but were having trouble selling it to their members and travelers in the leadership of the eleven CIO unions which they personally control.

Essential to their plans was the conversion of the leaders of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers, a union of close to 400,000 members in key industries, and particularly Julius (Comrade Juniper) Emspak, the secretary-treasurer, and James J. Matles, the brilliant director of organization whose Party loyalty goes back to the days of the Trade Union Unity League in the early thirties.

Without the UE, by far their biggest and most impressive trump, the new federation would be nothing, a fizzle and a flop from the start. But now Matles and Emspak appear to have swung into line. What finally convinced them?

In the absence of better guesses, a good answer is that they were persuaded by developments preceding and during the recent convention of the UE in Cleveland. These showed that in one more year they would have lost control of the union anyway. Their opposition this year, led by Jim Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO and former president of UE, mustered three times the strength that it brought to the convention last year. It pulled 40 percent of the vote, representing 150,000 members. A shift of 11 percent of the delegates would have given it a majority and retired Emspak and Matles to private life.

They have had plenty of warnings. They have already seen the rug pulled out from under other Stalinists almost as capable as themselves in the National Maritime Union, the Transport Workers Union and the Newspaper Guild. They must have decided it could happen to them. Obviously, it would be better to leave the CIO, even if they lost most of their members in the process, rather than to face the loss of them all.

And so they put through a resolution serving what has rightly been called an "impossible ultimatum" on the national CIO. This ultimatum demands that the national CIO do everything but crawl on its belly from Washington to New York and ask the Communists who run the UE for permission to go on living. If the CIO refuses, the UE will stop its per capita tax and, presumably, head for the door.

The CIO convention comes up in a few weeks and President Murray is already committed to asking the delegates to throw the Communist unions off the CIO executive board on the ground that they are defying CIO policy. Harry Bridges, one of the most loyal and outspoken of Stalinists in the labor movement, has already shown his contempt for the CIO by retaining his connections with the World Federation of Trade Unions as president of its new maritime division. Other Stalinist labor leaders have followed him in a torrent of abuse leveled at Murray and the national CIO, calculated to prove that the latter are now thoroughly "Fascist," "reactionary" and "company union" at heart.

On the other side of the fence, Walter Reuther and the large UAW delegation are ready to go further than Murray and urge that the Communists and their eleven unions, numbering about 750,000 members, be heaved out of the CIO entirely and that the CIO set up new unions to organize these workers away from them. It looks now as though this is what will be done unless the Communists jump the gun by walking out first.

*

THEN WE will have a new federation and U. S. labor will seem to be more split than ever—AFL, CIO, Stalinist group (which may pick up a little strength from the AFL), railroad brotherhoods, the machinists and other smaller independents, and John L. Lewis.

Since the war *The Daily Worker* has been flirting with Lewis, hoping that he would stooge for them in a new federation if that ever became necessary. Up to the present he has turned a cold shoulder to all overtures.

But this six-way split of the labor movement would be more apparent than real. Actually, the truth is that a Communist exodus from the CIO would probably do more to unite American labor than divide it. It would certainly remove one of the major road-blocks in the way of AFL-CIO amalgamation. Lewis would doubtless remain a lone wolf, or at least as completely unpredictable as ever. But the machinists and the railroad brotherhoods already work very closely with the AFL, and the machinists are expected to return to the Federation anyway in due time.

So that it is quite possible that the Stalinist walk, when and if it comes, will lead to the formation of one

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big American federation, or congress, of labor, uniting over 13,000,000 workers under one roof. This is a consummation devoutly to be wished, and prayed for.

That is one thing that might happen. More certain is this: if the Communists walk out, within a year they will not have more than 400,000 workers with them at the most. Unless there is a depression. And the way the steel operators are acting up as of this moment, that could happen too.

JOHN C. CORT.

Of Note

Interracial Monastery in Martinique

AS PART of an appeal for help and for white postulants, a newsletter from the Interracial Monastery of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (St. Pierre, Martinique, French West Indies) quotes an account sent by the Bishop of Martinique to the Pope. Here are excerpts from that report:

> I, the undersigned, Henry Varin de la Brunelière, Bishop of St. Pierre and Fort-de-France (Martinique), desire to relate the following:
>
> Struck by the immense spiritual needs of the colored race, to which I have specially consecrated my life, and the relative abandonment in which it is left in different countries; struck, also, by the appeals of His Holiness, Pius XII, to the American Bishops on behalf of the colored race, and after having prayed for many years to be inspired with the most salutary means of helping these disinherited races, I have been led, for four years, by a series of circumstances which seem to me providential, to consider the foundation of a monastery for that race, which would in turn found others, centres of doctrine and liturgical piety among the colored populations. (We have thought especially of the United States.)
>
> The Very Reverend Prior of St.-Benoit-du-Lac (Canada) willingly consented, for this aim, to send me an experienced monk, who for a long time was himself Superior and Master of Novices.
>
> I have placed at the disposal of the founder the former property of the Seminary-College of St. Pierre, which was destroyed by the eruption of Mt. Pelé in 1902.
>
> The community has been existing for two years. It has successfully passed through the trials and difficulties which always mark the beginning of this kind of foundation. It numbers at present fourteen subjects; twelve of them are colored.
>
> The observance is almost like that of the Benedictine Congregation of France. The postulants receive the same instruction as those of the above-named Congregation, with the study of the Old Testament in addition, which is necessary, because the community is surrounded by Adventists.
>
> The state of life of the community is more humble than that of the monasteries of the white race, and by its poverty and rusticity it resembles the first Benedictine monasteries.
>
> . . . our young monks have a charitable contact with the pilgrims; they teach catechism to children and to adults; on Sundays, they go out in groups to visit the people and the sick of the neighborhood.

Trappistine Nuns

A NORTH American Newspaper Alliance dispatch in the Sept. 25 New York *Times* tells of the Irish Trappistine Nuns, among them Americans who went to Ireland to enter the order, who recently arrived in the United States to make their community's first American foundation. Their land is near Wrentham, Mass.

> A new abbey has been specially built and prepared for the arrival of the Trappistine nuns. About 500 acres have been bought for them to farm.
>
> The gardens at the front of the two-story functional red brick and white stone building have been landscaped. Inside the convent thirty-seven cells—small, bright and cheerful rooms with stone floors—are ready. A large dining room with refectory tables and wooden benches, where the nuns eat from wooden bowls, is ready for their arrival.
>
> Because the nuns live a strictly secluded life, the new abbey had to be built before they could make the journey. The abbey, Mount St. Mary's, is the most up-to-date of the order.
>
> The Trappistine nuns, like the monks, do not eat meat, fish, fowl or eggs. They take vows of silence and, once they enter the order, they never leave the abbey enclosure.
>
> The order's rule requires physical as well as spiritual labor. Dressed in the black and white habit of the choir sister, or the plain brown of the lay sister, the members will work in the fields or tending the herd of forty cows that has been acquired for them. They will eat only the food they grow and will sell some of their farm produce.
>
> Some of the monks of the Valley Falls Cistercian Monastery of Rhode Island will be present at Wrentham to greet the nuns and give them their initial instruction. There will be two monks in residence. They are the chaplain confessors, the only ones to whom the nuns may talk, excepting the abbess or novice mistress.
>
> The early training of the Trappistine nuns, who enter as postulants and then become novices, will consist of learning the rules of the community and the meaning of the vows they will eventually take. Before they become professed nuns and take their final vows seven to fifteen years may elapse. Until then they are free to leave the order at any time should they feel that they are not suited to the life. Most of the newcomers are under 25 and the abbess, an Irish woman in charge of the novices and nuns, is believed to be under 40.

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Communications

Thoreau and the State

Chevy Chase, Maryland.

TO the Editors: It has often seemed to me that the unspoken aspiration underlying democracy as we know it—majority rule, minority protection—is the desire in all humility to find the truth and to practice the good. Since it is necessary for daily living to make decisions without complete certainty of their conformity with truth or goodness, we accept the will of the majority, not as right but as expedient. Preserving the freedom of the minorities to express their ideas is therefore indispensable. To take away that freedom is to change the philosophical basis of majority rule from humility to arrogance.

Is this not undoubtedly what Thoreau had in mind when he said that obedience to the state was "expedient"?

MARTHA T. O'KEEFE.

New York City.

TO the Editors: I do not wish to engage in a prolonged controversy but, since you saw fit to add your comments on my letter in the September 23 COMMONWEAL, I do feel I must state you have misrepresented the position I accept.

I did not assert, as you state, that the individual assumes to himself the role of lawmaker. I stated that the people had the right to govern themselves which is an entirely different thing. I would favor the type of societal arrangement advocated by the anarcho-syndicalists i.e. decentralized co-operative units, autonomous and self governing. And this is not "free-wheeling individualism." You unfortunately assume that if one does not believe in the State as a desirable instrument of government one therefore rejects all order in society—this shows to what an extent Statism has taken hold, that most people can conceive of only the State or the isolated individual. I believe it is in Quadragesimo Anno that the Pope stated it was undesirable that a higher governing body should perform functions that could be carried out as well by lesser governing bodies. It is the contention of the anarcho-syndicalists and Christian anarchists that what useful functions are now being performed by the State can better be performed by the people themselves through syndicates of workers. Whether or not you agree with this is not to the purpose right now—I merely wish to point out that it is not doing justice to this viewpoint to dismiss it as individualism. It is, after all, no more than following out what Peter Maurin meant when he said "the best government is self-government."

Nor is failure to abide by the conscription law a case of making the individual the source of law. It is a case of the individual following the dictates of his conscience and refusing to obey a law he regards as wrong. Unless one were to subscribe to the false theory that the will of the majority makes right, the individual who refuses to obey does so because he believes the conscription law violates a higher law. We are not making for clarity if we insist on confusing objective and subjective morality. I agree that "mortal sin is a personal act of mind and will freely performed by a person"—but this is no reason why there can be no discussion of what constitutes the matter of sin. . . .

I am sorry to bother you with another letter but your mis-representation of my position involves also *The Catholic Worker*.

ROBERT LUDLOW,
Associate Editor,
The Catholic Worker.

Somerset Maugham

Augusta, Georgia.

TO the Editors: Is it the mere volume of Mr. Maugham's omnipresence? That seems a weird aberration from the vigorously thoughtful line of THE COMMONWEAL, but what else could it be? One tries to tap comprehension through one's skiull as to (1) why Mr. Maugham (W. Somerset and all) has been given six columns in the magazine; and (2) why Mr. O'Hearn has squandered such an intrinsically exquisite piece of writing on the subject. What he said parenthetically in the second paragraph: "(And he [Mr. Maugham] is at once eclectic and limited, as blind to spiritual values as a color-blind man is to the spectrum.)", I hold, has made the rest nugatory, if the whole consideration of Mr. Maugham in a weekly like yours wasn't a nugatory matter from the start. In the same paragraph Mr. O'Hearn gets his second wind: "Read a passage by Mr. Maugham," says he, "and a passage from the work of almost any contemporary American immediately afterward and the latter's meaning will seem to be obscured behind a scaffolding of mannerism and cliche." But is it second wind or heroic wheeze? It is one of those so ridiculous postulates the reader is hard put to it to gather his own lungs for retort. Not that Mr. Maugham isn't lucid (so is Al Capp), but that "almost any contemporary American" is thick with "mannerism and cliche"! One wonders how Mr. Wilder and Mr. Steinbeck will take that. As for mannerisms, old Thomas Carlyle had one or two back in Britain, and the only injury they ever did him has been in the environment of Maughamish tea-tables and tete-a-tetes. As for "cliche"—that can be turned around as a good one-word description of Mr. Maugham's whole writing, inside and out.

All this recent sentimentalized ballyhoo about Mr. Maugham's "waiting for his ship" is an irritating anticlimax to those contemporaries who have somehow clung to the tattered skirts of art, thoroughly kicked about by commercial boots, with the conviction that the ship picked up Mr. Maugham seventy-odd years ago.

LEGARDE S. DOUGHTY.

Segregation

St. Paul, Minn.

TO the Editors: "It is easy to embrace the Negro in the North . . . It takes . . . courage in the South. The problem . . . those people who think that white bodies . . . should not be permitted near the black. South-

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erners are not alone in these delusions." [THE COMMONWEAL, *Sept.* 23]

How do you get that way? What that describes is a not uncommon Northern, but not in the least a Southern white attitude. I have Southern white relatives and have traveled a good deal in the South: I have never known a Southern white person to object to any degree of intimacy whatever in physical contact with a Negro. Flatly to the contrary, the Southern whites want Negroes right with them—in their kitchens and dining-rooms; in their bedchambers as valets and ladies' maids; as nursemaids and wet nurses for their children—Don't they? Do you know anything about the South? On the L & N Railway I have seen Negro women ride all the way from Louisville to New Orleans as passengers in the Pullman sleeper —sitting in the same double seats with white passengers, eating with them, sleeping in berths of the same sections. They were first-class passengers; but they were not fare-paying passengers: they were ladies' maids, whose white employers had paid their fares for them; and that made all the difference, down South. When under lure of high wages and boom times up North Negro laborers begin to migrate North in large numbers, Southern whites frequently take measures—often illegal—to stop it and keep the Negroes where they are, in constant intercourse and close physical contact with themselves. What the Southern white demands of the Negro is not physical segregation, but simply social subordination and inferiority.

Don't you on thought agree?

G. W. C. ROSS.

The physical association is permitted only after social inequality is firmly established. Where there is a suspicion of equality (at the theatre, in the school) segregation is imposed to maintain the social distinction. The difficulty in such a discussion as this is that we are imputing a consciously vicious mentality to people who in reality are led by the traditions and rationalizations of their society into a way of thinking that is certainly terrible, but is often too subtle for conscious guilt.

—THE EDITORS.

The Screen

Who *Is* Happy?

TWO OF THE year's best films are opening in New York this week on pre-release engagements. It is interesting that the main themes of both of these well-made pictures is the pursuit of happiness.

Outwardly *"Pinky"* is the story of a Negro girl who returns to the South to visit her grandmother after several years spent in studying nursing up North where she passed as white. Understandably antagonistic toward both blacks and whites in her home town, Pinky further shocks and hurts her grandmother (magnificently played by Ethel Waters) by preparing to run away again. "No matter how far you go and what you learn, you got to bring it all back with you," the sincere old woman pleads with the resentful girl; and then she insists that Pinky stay and nurse the dying lady in the mansion on the hill. While taking care of this southern aristocrat (Ethel Barrymore) Pinky learns the meaning of integrity; and later when she inherits her handsome old house and has to fight for it in courts where the aristocrat's relatives are trying to break the will, Pinky learns about true justice and responsibility.

Philip Dunne and Dudley Nichols wrote the good script from Cid Ricketts Sumner's novel "Quality," and Elia Kazan has directed it expertly. He has given the movie more than a plot about a Negress who releases her white fiance (William Lundigan handles this difficult role well) and who suffers the indignities of a persecuted minority. "Pinky" is essentially the story of a person who learns the meaning of life and who finally sees that her own happiness is not the important thing. Jeanne Crain's performance in the title role is deeply stirring and perhaps all the more effective because the movie has gone out of its way to avoid melodrama in the scenes that approach hysteria: the near-rape episode and in the townfolk's resentment of Pinky after she wins the lawsuit.

Producer Darryl F. Zanuck deserves credit for not attempting to cover the entire racial question in "Pinky." This film along with "Home of the Brave" and "Lost Boundaries" represents an encouraging start along the right lines in condemning anti-Negro prejudice. Perhaps one day we shall see movies that go the whole way in blasting the false notions of white supremacy. But in the meantime let us be thankful for "Pinky" which succeeds in putting over its themes of tolerance and living for others in a dramatic movie that will reach a large audience.

*

THE QUESTION in *"The Heiress"* is this: would plain, gauche Catherine Sloper, who will one day inherit a fortune, be happier if she marries handsome Morris Townsend, who is obviously won by her money? We never really get the answer, because during the years between the time when Catherine agrees to elope with Morris and he jilts her, and the time when Morris wants to elope with Catherine and she jilts him, Catherine herself changes. This may seem like rather slim material for a movie, but Producer-director William Wyler has fashioned it into such a good movie that it will hold you spellbound from beginning to end. Ruth and Augustus Goetz, who wrote their play from Henry James' novel "Washington Square," also wrote the script for the film which has been handsomely photographed with scenes of New York in the 1850s.

Its cast is superb: Olivia de Havilland, at first an unattractive frump, later a hard, bitter old-maid; Montgomery Clift charming and debonair as the self-centered, mercenary suitor; Ralph Richardson cold, aloof, a man of perfect taste, as Catherine's father who never lets her forget how lovely was her mother; Miriam Hopkins as the girl's fluttery aunt who thrills at the very mention of romance and tries so hard to do something for the socially-hopeless heiress. You may not admire these four people, but you will understand them and feel keenly

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for them as they suffer in the unhappy situation of their own making.

Since I was so enthusiastic about "The Heiress" when I saw it on the New York stage, the highest praise I can give the movie is to say I like it even better. It develops its characterizations much more carefully and consequently we get to know the people in its plot better. One doesn't blame any one person for the bitterness that grows out of their relationships. Perhaps one even sympathizes with the stern father when he crushes his daughter by telling her she is completely without charm or assets other than her money. Years later when the aunt berates Catherine for her cruelty in jilting Morris, the embittered girl replies that she has been taught by masters. But the key to the whole situation is revealed when Catherine berates her father with "Since you couldn't love me, you should have let someone else try." "The Heiress" is the kind of a movie that supplies food for thought long after you have left the theater. You realize again and again that the answer to the quest for happiness is love. PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Catholic International News

"Christian" Parties in Germany

AS A consequence of the recent election campaign in which the word "Christian" played an important role, religious leaders and periodicals in Western Germany have again raised the question whether it is desirable to have *one* Christian party or whether it is better for Christian voters to have a choice between different sets of candidates. Many German newspapers have pointed out that while the Christian Democrats are the only political party using the word "Christian" in their name there are three other parties emphasizing the application of Christian principles in public life and the defense of parents' rights in education: the German Party,, the Bavarian Party, and the Center Party. The Christian Democrats obtained 7,350,000 votes and 139 seats, the other 3 Christian parties combined 2,683,000 votes and 44 seats.

Discussing this fact in Western Germany's leading Catholic newspaper, *Katholischer Beobachter,* Cologne, Heinz Reuter, one of the paper's editors, emphasized that the Bavarian Party, the German Party and the Center Party are "genuinely Christian both by the personality of their representatives in Parliament and by the attitude of their voters," and that all three of them have gained votes in the recent elections. Even the Center Party, he pointed out, obtained 120,000 more votes than before, in spite of a crisis. Reuter's conclusion was that it is better to have several Christian parties because it would be impossible for one party to find "a common denominator for many different legitimate wishes and interests."

It is significant that in current discussions of this kind the question of denominational parties is rarely raised. All four Christian parties now represented in the Germany Federal Assembly are non-denominational. Catholics are in a substantial majority in the Bavarian Party and the Center Party, Protestants in the German Party. In the Christian Democratic Union, the two denominations are more evenly balanced than in the minor parties. In the recent elections, the Christian Democrats obtained first place and not only in Catholic areas but also in the predominantly Lutheran States of Wuerttemberg, in the South, and Schleswig-Holstein, in the North.

Many Christian Democratic leaders have repeatedly expressed strong objections to the participation of clergymen in partisan politics. At present the only Catholic priest in the German Federal Assembly, Father Franz Ott, is not a Christian Democrat, but an Independent, and the only clergyman among the Christian Democratic Representatives is a Lutheran minister, Rev. Eugene Gerstenmaier. (Cologne, 10/1—CIP.)

Religion in Hungarian Schools

"PARENTS are obliged in conscience to let the Government know their demands," the Bishops of Hungary recently declared in a joint pastoral letter. The pastoral letter is dated "on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary" (September 8). It recalls parents' responsibility for the religious education of children and summarizes Government regulations.

Under these regulations, the Bishops point out, religious instruction is to be provided for those school children whose parents request it in writing. Parents are obliged in conscience, the pastoral states, to inform the school authorities that they wish their children to receive religious instruction. "In doing so, they need not fear any inconveniences," the pastoral letter declared, "because the decrees issued by the Government on this matter are very explicit and recognize the right of the parents to make this request. Such requests must be respected."

The pastoral letter is written in moderate and sober terms and does not refer to the suppression of Catholic schools and other issues of the educational struggle but only to the registration of children for religious instruction in public schools.

Reports from Hungary indicate that a considerable majority of parents have complied with the request of their Bishops and registered their children for religious instruction. The number of those doing so is reported to range from 87 to 98 per cent in various districts.

Church attendance in Hungary has increased in recent months, according to several sources, including the Budapest weekly *Uj Ember* (*The New Man*), the only Catholic periodical now published in Hungary. "The churches are more filled than ever before, and one may speak of a real hunger for religion," the paper stated in a recent issue. "There is above all a great increase in the church attendance of industrial workers and intellectuals."

(The Hague, 9/28—CIP.)

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Football Capital or Intellectual Community?

WALDEMAR GURIAN

The Notre Dame Story. Francis Wallace. Rinehart, $2.75.

Blueprint for a Catholic University. Leo R. Ward. Herder. $5.00.

FRANCIS WALLACE, a well-known sports writer, and president of the Notre Dame Alumni Association, is modest enough not to raise the question, What is a Catholic University? in his *Notre Dame Story*. Despite his occasional remarks that it is unfortunate to identify Notre Dame with football, he should have entitled his book, *The Story of Notre Dame's Team*. He does mention intellectual achievements and research projects, but only in a general way. He does not describe the Medieval Institute or the *Review of Politics,* nor does he tell about the changes in the department of history under Father McAvoy. He does not list contributions to scholarly reviews by members of the faculty of Notre Dame, such as Father Beichner or Professors Francis, Hermens, Caponigri and Chroust.

However, his book is obviously not without its merit. It is written by a man who has a big heart, who loves Notre Dame, who is fascinated by Knute Rockne, who has many stories to tell. Readers unacquainted with the athletic world will be indebted for very interesting information about the status and problems of football in American universities. *The Notre Dame Story* is surely, as the flyleaf says, a "book for football fans," but it does not tell the whole Notre Dame story. It reports only one aspect of it—surely very spectacular and valuable—but not the most important one. Wallace is anxious to obtain funds for Notre Dame; yet his book will not appeal to readers who would prefer to regard Notre Dame as a promising academic institution. He will only confirm the enthusiasm of those who are inclined to praise Notre Dame as a center of athletic activities in the midst of a healthy moral-religious atmosphere, though they are not much concerned with its scholarly achievements. Wallace's book characterizes a stage in Notre Dame's history which belongs, despite its popularity, rather to the past. This can be said even when one is inclined to regard Hutchins' abolition of the football team in his university as an unnecessary publicity affair. Football is not important enough to become the object of heated pro's and con's.

★

FORTUNATELY, there appeared a few months ago another book connected with Notre Dame which certainly will not be as widely acclaimed as Wallace's sympathetic, sentimental, and enthusiastic story. But I think that this book is much more revealing of the actual development and future of Notre Dame.

Father Leo R. Ward's *Blueprint of a Catholic University* should be read by everyone who is devoting some thought to Catholic education and to the present state of American civilization. A member of Notre Dame's department of philosophy, Father Ward has not written a perfect, well-balanced work. There are many repetitions, some parts are based too much on second-hand information. Yet for all its shortcomings—which could be easily corrected, should Father Ward reduce his book to a smaller volume with fewer chapters—the *Blueprint* can be hailed as a landmark in the literature about Catholic education.

★

THE idea is very simple. A university has an intellectual end; a Catholic university cannot be satisfied with a purely natural-secularistic approach which may regard Christianity or the Catholic Church as one of many interesting and important fields of study, and even as a means of moral orientation. A Catholic university must have theology at its center, as a knowledge influencing all other knowledge directly and indirectly. It is Father Ward's merit to develop this definition of a Catholic university in a fearless way—despite some lengthy and not always necessary historical and philosophical discussions. He rejects the view which, in a strange dualism, combines a fundamentally anti-intellectual fideism with an extraordinary capacity of adaptation to modern business and progress. He emphasizes the necessity of leadership by true scholars, not by men interested in money or external successes or the preservation of good moral standards. (Such preservation, of course, is necessary but cannot be the specific aim of a university.)

Father Ward does not give concrete examples. He is satisfied to quote authorities, criticizing the deficiencies of American, too practical and too confused, education; and he is able to buttress his positive views by highly impressive quotations from the Popes. The hope may be expressed that his book will be *really* read by those who are in a position to influence the direction of American Catholic education. It would be unfortunate if it would be accepted by them with more or less mild and benevolent praise and then forgotten, that is, used as a treasury of quotations for commencement addresses.

★

A FEW reflections about some problems facing Catholic American institutions of higher learning today might be added to this recommendation of Father Ward's book. I think Catholic colleges and universities are emerging today successfully from a stage in their development during which learning and scholarship were underemphasized: during this period it was regarded as the most important task to protect the students from unhealthy influences, perhaps at the same time transmitting an intellectual tradition which, encased in sterile formulas, had somewhat lost its vitality. Today a reaction against too little scholarship, or a scholarship unacquainted with methods used in great non-Catholic universities, has taken place in Catholic institutions. The necessity for having teachers with Ph.D.'s, particularly from the best-known non-Catholic institutions, is emphasized. Neglect

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of teaching, the use of classrooms for telling more or less pleasant anecdotes, is replaced by careful organization of teaching, by preparation of detailed syllabi which impose a strict discipline on teachers as well as students. This development within proper limits must be commended. But it raises some important questions.

First, it seems that the emphasis upon a specialist learning can result in a neglect of universal issues and in a blindness to a humanistic and spiritual approach, and finally in a tendency to combine a carefully operating but naïve positivism with a fideistic acceptance of religious authority. (I do not think, for instance, that a philological approach, however necessary it may be, can replace the philosophy of literature, a study which has, in a most beneficial way intellectually and spiritually, influenced some of the best students of Notre Dame in the last decade.) Those responsible for the development of a specialist learning do not realize that a too great mechanization and bureaucratization of teaching, too much emphasis upon the externalia of examinations and research, can defeat itself even though it originally expressed a very healthy and necessary reaction against neglect of scholarship and lack of discipline. It would be fatal if Catholic schools would forget that no teaching methods, no systems of examinations, no intricately organized readings and carefully worked-out syllabi can replace the factor which is most important in all learning and education: the person of the scholar and teacher. If this danger is not realized in time a reign of mediocrity and a lack of initiative must spread which will kill true research and true education. The teacher could then easily be replaced by records—of course, they will have to be revised from time to time, brought up-to-date by a central commission—and the examinations could be graded by machines. The university would then have become a factory of learning without soul.

*

SECONDLY, the Catholic institutions of higher learning are run too often according to a paternalistic spirit. Father Ward mentions that only scholars (at least men really aware of problems of scholarship) ought to have leading positions in the university. Everyone acquainted with the existing conditions knows that this demand is far from being realized. I do not think that in the long run Catholic institutions can avoid giving laymen a greater share in authority. It is excellent that the University of Notre Dame has laymen, not only among heads of departments but also among the deans (at the moment only the deans of Arts and Letters and of the graduate school are members of the religious congregation which has established Notre Dame). It is not conducive to the development of a true Catholic university to have professors treated as if they were children who are anxious to avoid teaching classes and to neglect their duties. Appointments by exclusive decision of departments can result in bad choices but, on the other hand, authorities not in touch with research and scholarship can make choices which are at least as bad. How often are very honorable but non-academic considerations responsible for important appointments! How often are productive scholars and distinguished teachers more or less compelled to quit Catholic schools because they are tired of being dealt with in a benevolent but authoritarian way!

Thirdly, Catholic education is today threatened by an imitation complex which overrates technical achievements in non-Catholic learning (often an inferiority complex is to be observed among Catholic educators who discover the merits of a scholar only after he has left his Catholic institution for a non-Catholic one). On the other hand, there is a tendency towards too great isolation, an attempt to keep aloof from real contacts with the secularized world. There is no reason to perpetuate this situation. Catholic participation in academic meetings, at gatherings of learned societies, etc., ought to be encouraged as much as possible. The fruitfulness of an approach taking into account the importance of theology for matters of history and social science would, despite all criticism, be taken seriously by non-Catholics. This would be especially true if it were presented in the form of concrete research and as the answer to concrete questions, whereas general statements about the superiority of Catholic philosophy and learning accompanied by corresponding denunciations of everything one does not like in the modern world, without any attempt to study and to understand its roots, must result only in the increase of anti-Catholic prejudices.

*

I HAVE raised some critical questions about the present state of Catholic higher education in the United States. It would be unjust if I did not mention at the end that there are many Catholic educators and professors who realize what is needed today: the development of a specifically Catholic approach which is open to the problems of our era—and that means issues arising in a secularized society—but which at the same time is not a victim of an imitation complex resulting in a mechanical acceptance of research and teaching methods which, by the way, are being abandoned in the non-Catholic world.

Father Ward's book is evidence that these issues are discussed at Notre Dame, and that the popular view identifying Notre Dame with its football team does not go beyond the surface. I am sure that the Notre Dame football team has reached, under Coach Leahy, the peak of its successes, but I am sure, too, that Notre Dame has not yet reached the peak of its contributions to the development of Catholic universities. Father Ward's book helps greatly to formulate the questions of Catholic education today. This is more important than to give cocksure but premature answers which do not solve, but only pretend to solve, the problems. What establishes the importance of Notre Dame is not its fame as football capital of the nation, but the unpublicized existence on its campus of scholars, teachers and students living in a genuine intellectual community, despite the fact that their work is not so well-known or so much helped as it ought to be.

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Books

The Waters of Siloe. Thomas Merton. Harcourt. $3.50.

IT WAS almost inevitable that *The Seven Storey Mountain* would have a sequel. Thousands of those who followed his career to the time of his profession as a monk at Gethesemani Abbey must have wondered what became of Thomas Merton and what the Trappist life is all about. His new book, which is dedicated to Evelyn Waugh, tells them all they want to know, and does it in a way that makes it an important addition to American religious literature. The publishers have spared no effort to make it as informative as possible, and they have supplied attractive photographs, a glossary of monastic terms and the Trappist horarium.

After a brief survey of the origins of Benedictine monachism, the author describes the reforms of de Rancé, and then gives, in much greater detail, a description of the Trappists in America from their arrival a century ago to the present day. It is a wonderful story that gives wide scope to his literary talents, and it is hard to imagine anyone else telling it better. Probably because it is less personal he seems more at ease than in some parts of *The Seven Storey Mountain,* and he writes with a serenity, detachment and insight that merit the highest praise.

*

THESE qualities appear all through the book, but especially in the chapters dealing with the various changes and reforms the Cistercian Order has undergone from the beginning to the final reorganization, and reorientation, under Leo XIII. Those who think Trappist life is so regimented and depressed that there is no room for the development of personality will be surprised by the portraits of the successive Abbots of Gethesemani and some other prominent figures in the Order. The treatment of de Rancé is a touchstone for Trappist writers, and Father Merton passes the test with credit that must be shared with the superiors who have given him such freedom to write.

Where so much is good it is hard to pick the best, but the last two chapters—on the specifically Cistercian character and sanctity, and on the real purpose of the contemplative life—are especially valuable. Those outside the cloister are not the only ones who come, at times, to regard perfection in external observance as the principal feature of the religious life. It is good to have the true doctrine presented so sanely and attractively to so large an audience. It will help to make the recent burgeoning of the contemplative orders in America, from which so much can be hoped, intelligible and not merely astonishing to friend and foe.

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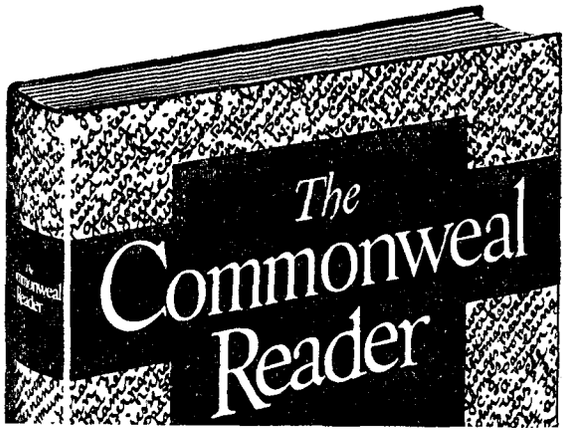

Edited by **EDWARD S. SKILLIN**
INTRODUCTION BY ANNE FREMANTLE

"As one who has been reading *The Commonweal* steadily during the twenty-five years of its existence, I have often been struck by the rich variety of fare that it has offered. Some numbers are, of course, better than others, and some periods better than others; so that I am left with an impression that at least three anthologies as good as this could be drawn from its pages. But to say this is only to emphasize what I said in the beginning; the abundance is so great that it must have been hard to make a selection. Certainly what is brought together here is very good."—THEODORE MAYNARD.

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All Hope Abandon. Irene Odoevzev. Pantheon. $3.00.

THIS STORY, written from the inside, of the inside, of the USSR, might be a third volume to a trilogy whose preceding two were *Darkness at Noon* and *1984*. But Arthur Koestler's book, and George Orwell's, were about ideas: the people were only incidental, and their pathetic sufferings were no more significant than the wrigglings of butterflies on a collector's pin.

Miss Odoevzev's characters *are* the story. Everything she sees and tells is related from inside out, not flashlit from outside. This murder is a pity, she says, for what it does to the killer; this treason corrodes the traitor; this despair confounds and corrupts a loving girl, making of her a hard harlot. Evil is seen as evil only in its effect on human-beings. The universe rolls on, good, obedient, unconcerned, while Vera, the little eighteen-year-old ballet-dancer, and Andrei, the sensitive writer, are broken beyond repair. The analysis of the two men, Volkov and Luganov, friends at school, comrades through life, until Volkov has Luganov killed on orders from the Kremlin, is a tour-de-force from a woman-writer. Few men, indeed, would have attempted so subtle and profound a study of two members of the opposite sex. Miss Odoevzev succeeds so completely that Vera, the heroine, is relegated to second place, in psychological emphasis, if not in narrative importance.

The scenes are wonderfully well-composed: the party where Vera entertains alone, the touching tête à tête with Ronald, the visiting American, who "did not believe in evil, does not want evil to exist, and when he finds it turns away," and the last party where Volkov meets Vera again, and she touches Andrei's watch, and listens to it tick, and warns Volkov that she will have him killed, as she had Strohm, who was her lover, killed. And the effortless writing, that begins so slowly, as if time were no matter, and ends, taut and terrible, as though it were the only matter, matches everywhere the rhythm of this very adult and evolved romance.

ANNE FREMANTLE.

The Great German Mystics. James M. Clark. Macmillan. $2.75.

THE development of mysticism in Germany during the fourteenth century is one of the most beautiful, though controversial, chapters of medieval literature. It included at least three great writers: Eckart, Tauler and Suso. Their voluminous works were published anew in the beginning of our century and much discussed by the propagandists of National Socialism. Alfred Rosenberg and his co-workers claimed that this mystical literature was a national rebellion against the Judaism and Romanism of the Catholic Church and was pantheistic in essence. He claimed that, with the mystical writings of Master Eckart, there began a community of souls that was substantially German and therefore in opposition to the Roman hierarchy. The German bishops repudiated

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these presumptions in 1934, in a remarkable book which was freely distributed as a supplement to church papers in order to escape the Nazi censor.

Under these circumstances a new study of those famous German mystics has more than merely theological or literary interest. It would be useful indeed to oppose the view that the mystical trend was something new in medieval literature and to relate the German mystics to the mystical utterances of the great scholastics, especially to relate Master Eckart's views to the philosophy and the hymns of Thomas of Aquino. Eckart belonged to the Dominican Order. Since Saint Thomas died when Eckart was fourteen, it is unlikely that he knew him personally but it is most probable that he was well acquainted with his work. The early canonization of Saint Thomas made him the pride of his order. Though Eckart was much more influenced by neo-Platonism than the Aristotelean Thomas, there are many features that connect Eckart with Aquinas. But thorough research about the relations of these two outstanding Dominican thinkers is still missing.

Clark, apparently a Protestant, treats his material without theological background, but as literary works. Thus his research lacks a thorough insight into the theological and philosophical problems involved, but because of his merely literary interest he is perhaps the more unprejudiced.

Clark does full justice to Catholic authors and comes to the conclusion that the alleged battle between a specifically German religiosity and the Roman Church is a product of pure imagination. With great sympathy, but without new viewpoints, the author treats also the common sense of Tauler's mystical writings; his special love, however, is devoted to the poetical trend in Suso. He also discusses some lesser known mystics, especially Franciscans. The limitation of his monograph to mystics of the mendicant orders may produce the wrong impression that mysticism was a new feature of medieval piety only cultivated by the mendicant orders. The author fails to relate his special theme with the influences of the mystics of earlier centuries and with the development of lay mysticism in the late Middle Ages. Because of this isolation of his subject, Clark's study does not have the broad effect a book on the German mystics might have if treated as an integral chapter of medieval religion.

MAX FISCHER.

Countryman's Year. Haydn S. Pearson. Whittlesey House. $3.50.

THE New York *Times* is a great paper, but it misses a lot of tricks. It is in a rut. It is so devoted to anonymity and an appearance of dull respectability, so determined not to yield to the devices of modern journalism that a man could, and did, read it for years without realizing that right on the editorial page there was appearing several times a week a minor genius named Haydn Pearson.

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looked like just another *Times* editorial and this man never read the editorials because they were so dull and respectable, and in his conceit he told himself that all he had to do was look at the title and he could figure out exactly what the *Times* was going to say.

Now if the *Times* had dressed up Pearson the way the *World-Telegram* or the *Post* would, given him a column of his own with a distinctive title, a by-line and a half-column cut so you could see what he looked like, then this man would have read him regularly and his life would have been fuller, richer and happier as a result.

Fortunately, Pearson has broken out of his *Times* oblivion and published a book full of these little sketches, together with others that have appeared elsewhere, and the whole thing, dressed up with 28 striking photos, is called "Countryman's Year."

Pearson is apparently a man who grew up on a farm and liked it so much that he stayed there. But he must have absorbed a good deal of education one way or another. He is interested in everything and knows all about it, including the Latin name and the Greek derivation.

The sketches are about birds, trees, weather, whittling, teaching calves to drink milk from a pail, the general store, Sunday dinner, digging potatoes, the beauties of Indian pudding, pitching horseshoes, the correct way to eat pie, birch swinging, and a hundred other things, or to be exact, 191 things in all.

The writing style is not the best in the world—too many adjectives in front of nouns—but it is not a bad style either and there is so much humor in the man, so much curiosity, so much information, so much life and so much joy in life that all in all "Countryman's Year" is about as good as living on a farm for a year yourself, missing all the drudgery and boredom and just hitting the highspots of beauty, interest and enjoyment.

The photos, showing the different seasons and occupations on a farm, are unusually good. There is no higher compliment than to say that "Countryman's Year" might almost make an agrarian out of a confirmed "we-and-the-Pope industrialist."

JOHN C. CORT.

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Rev. H. A. REINHOLD is the pastor of St. Joseph Church, Sunnyside, Wash., and a leader of the liturgical movement in this country.

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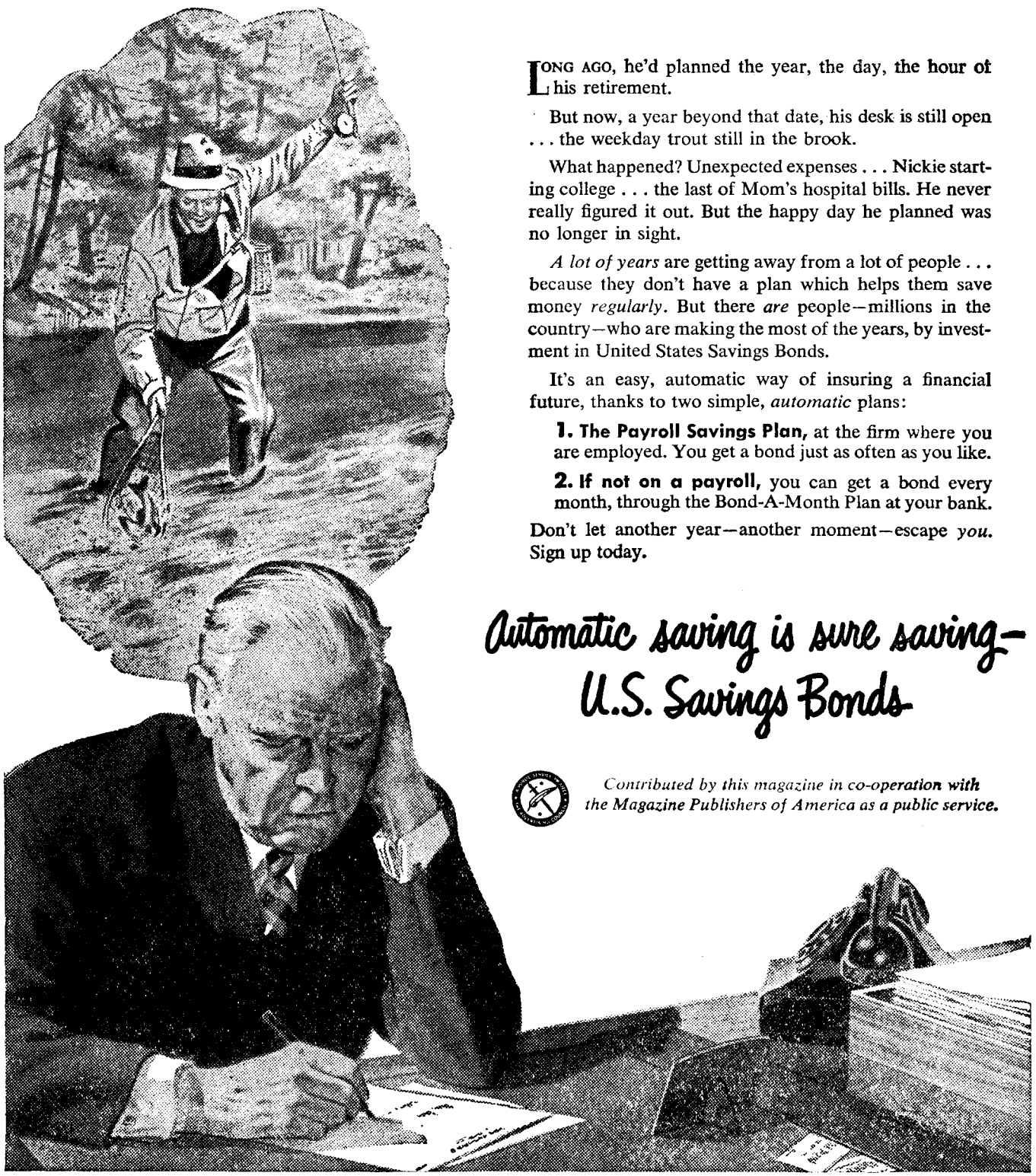
The year that got away—



LONG AGO, he'd planned the year, the day, the hour of his retirement.

But now, a year beyond that date, his desk is still open . . . the weekday trout still in the brook.

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